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# Searching for Africa in Russia: The Fate of Apollon Davidson\*

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This article is devoted to analysing the scholarly path of the outstanding Russian Africanist Apollon Davidson. His personality has already attracted scholarly attention, primarily in connection with the history of the Centre for African Studies of the Institute of Global History, which Davidson created in 1971. In this study, comprehensive analysis of the subject of Russia and Africa in Davidson's work is conducted for the first time. Earlier research has only partially touched upon this theme. The main sources are Davidson's works. The origins of Davidson's interest in Africa are analyzed. This interest was closely connected with the atmosphere of Stalin's Soviet Union, in the conditions of which the historian's personality was formed. The analysis shows that avoiding problems related to the political situation was a conscious choice for Davidson, who sought to avoid having to write propaganda essays within the framework of the dominant ideology. The article identifies the key subjects that attracted Davidson's attention: the formation of Africa's image in Russia, the position of Russia in the Anglo-Boer War of 1899-1902, the Comintern and Africa, and the main aspects of Soviet foreign policy in Africa. It is shown that Davidson was especially interested in the African travels of Nikolai Gumilyov and the surge of interest in Africa among the Russian intelligentsia of the Silver Age. The publication of most of Davidson's studies was possible only in the post-Soviet period.

Keywords: Apollon Davidson, Soviet historiography, Russia and Africa, Anglo-Boer War, Comintern, Nikolai Gumilev

Статья посвящена анализу научного пути выдающегося отечественного африканиста, академика РАН Аполлона Давидсона. Ранее его личность привлекала внимание ученых прежде всего в связи с историей деятельнос-

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ти Центра африканских исследований Института всеобщей истории РАН, который был создан им в 1971 г. Проблема сюжета «Россия и Африка» в творчестве А. Б. Давидсона лишь фрагментарно затрагивалась в статьях, посвященных творчеству историка. Здесь впервые проанализирован вопрос об истоках интереса к Африке у А. Б. Давидсона, доказана тесная связь с атмосферой в сталинском Советском Союзе, в условиях которого происходило формирование личности историка. Проведенный анализ свидетельствует, что уход от проблематики, связанной с политической конъюнктурой, был для А. Б. Давидсона сознательным выбором, обусловленным стремлением уйти от создания пропагандистских сочинений в рамках господствовавшей идеологии. В статье выявлены ключевые сюжеты, которые привлекали внимание А. Б. Давидсона в рамках темы «Россия и Африка»: история формирования образа Африки в России, позиция России в англобурской войне 1899-1902 гг., Коминтерн и Африка, основные направления советской политики в Африке. Особый интерес вызывает у А. Б. Давидсона сюжет, связанный с историей африканских путешествий Николая Гумилева и всплеском интереса к Африке среди российской интеллигенции эпохи Серебряного века. Публикация большинства исследований А. Б. Давидсона по данной проблематике стала возможна лишь в постсоветский период.

*Ключевые слова*: Аполлон Давидсон, советская историческая наука, Россия и Африка, англо-бурская война, Коминтерн, Николай Гумилев

Recently, the question of professional self-definition in Soviet academic history has attracted increasing attention from the scholarly community. In a range of memoir-like works, famous Soviet historians have analysed how they were educated as members of a corporation, how they chose their scholarly specialisms, and the influence of political developments in the USSR on their lives and professional development [Шелохаев; Ненароков и др.]. This question is also important with regards to those Russian historians whose scholarly specialism was connected with fields of historical knowledge rarely encountered in the USSR. It is precisely for this reason that the fate of Apollon Borisovich Davidson, a great Russian Africanist and the creator and long-time leader of the Centre for African Studies at the Russian Academy of Science's Institute of Global History, is of scholarly interest.

In terms of his roots, Davidson came from the world of pre-revolutionary Russia and the Silver Age of Russian culture. The closest person to him was his mother, Tamara Aleksandrovna, who belonged to the Petersburg intelligentsia. Davidson writes the following about her and her brother:

Mama, while she was still in the senior year of the gymnasium, and Uncle Valia were attracted to Bal'mont and Merezhkovskii. They were readers of the journal *Apollon*... they did not mourn the overthrow of the tsar. [They considered] February a breath of freedom. For these young people, this was

an escape from strict prohibitions – Mama remembered how she and her friend were the first to take exams with painted lips, an unheard-of liberty [Давидсон, 2008, с. 29].

After the revolution, Tamara initially raised her numerous brothers and sisters and then worked as an administrator in Leningrad educational establishments for many years. Apollon had a very touching relationship with his mother until the very last days of her life. He brought her from Leningrad to Moscow, where she lived together with him and his wife. When at work, Davidson always called her on the telephone and asked one and the same question: "Mama, how are you?" He did this rigorously as soon as his meetings ended, and it never entered his head to restrain himself if others were in the room, regardless of whether they were colleagues (including foreigners), friends, or enemies. In terms of his father, Davidson recalls:

He was from a merchant family. He believed that Lenin's NEP [New Economic Policy] was serious and would be long lasting. But in 1928, when Stalin, strengthening his grip on power, ended the NEP, Father lost everything he had and was sent into exile, along with tens of thousands of others. My parents lived together in exile, but their marriage was never formalised [Tam жe, c. 30].

It was precisely in exile, in the village of Ermakovo in Sverdlovsk oblast, that Apollon Davidson was born on 23 August 1929. The unusual name of this future historian of Africa was connected with his father's arrival in detention: "Before exile, my father sat for some time in prison," remembers Davidson. "Among his cellmates, he liked a man by the name of Apollon. A real member of the intelligentsia. [He was] also from among the 'former people'. He died in prison prior to release. I was named in his honour" [Там же, с. 31]. The circumstances in which Davidson's name was chosen were in many ways symbolic: it was his lot to suffer through many trials.

The future historian's childhood was spent in the atmosphere of Stalin's Great Break, which had a strong influence on his socialisation. The repressions destroyed Davidson's family: before 1934, his father was in exile and after this he was forbidden to live in large cities. Nonetheless, he violated this prohibition and went to Leningrad for one or two days, where his family lived. In 1938, Davidson gained a stepfather, but he preferred to keep his father's surname, although on more than one occasion it was suggested that he change it, since this would probably ease his career.

The development of Davidson's personality was inextricably connected with Leningrad. Together with the city on the Neva, he lived through the first winter of the Nazi siege and all its horrors. In the spring of 1942, life took the adolescent to Sverdlovsk, where his stepfather was living at the time.

Davidson resided in Sverdlovsk from 13 April 1942 to December 1943. Initially, he stayed at the Bol'shoi Ural hotel. According to his recollections, this was "the most fashionable hotel in Sverdlovsk":

Evacuated from Moscow, the high functionaries of the party and state apparatus lived there for weeks and then months. Then city apartments were sought for them in accordance with the "Table of Ranks". The hotel also had its own system of gradations. Waiters brought trays of delicacies and starched napkins in the morning, at lunch, and in the evening to the rooms of the highest officials – generals, artists, some academics. What a thing it was to see this after dying Leningrad! [Давидсон, 2008, с. 44–45].

In December 1943, his stepfather took Davidson and his mother to Moscow: in June 1945, the family returned to Leningrad. But life there was very hard: the majority of Davidson's relatives had either died in the siege or been repressed.

In 1948, Davidson entered the history faculty of Leningrad University and began to study the history of Africa: "How did it begin?" he ponders:

At the end of the 1940s, Leningrad had still not left the terrible siege years behind. And all around rampaged the "struggle against cosmopolitanism", the campaign against "grovelling before the West"... arrests, exiles, firings... and endless shameful meetings where intelligent people were forced to repent of something or, still more disgusting, to denounce each other. We students were involved in all this, so that we would be witnesses and even participants. What was I to do? Write my student essays on, as they said then, burning hot topics? Here you would be inevitably caught up in the whirlpool of this madness. I buried myself in old books and documents, staring at ancient wood prints... [Давидсон, 2017, с. 9].

Leningrad University's history faculty did not then deal with Africa, but there was a chair of African studies in the oriental faculty. This was occupied by the eminent ethnographer, linguist, and historian D. A. Ol'derogge (1903–1987), one of the first Russian Africanists. He was the supervisor of Davidson's academic work.

In 1953, when Davidson graduated from university, the Stalinist campaign against cosmopolitanism was at its very height. A graduate with the surname Davidson had no chance of finding work. He received dozens of rejections from schools, museums, and libraries across the country. However, Stalin died in March: by the end of the academic year, the campaign began to wind down. Davidson joined the PhD programme of the Moscow Institute of History, entering its modern history division. In 1956, under the supervision of N. A. Erofeev, a famed historian of Great Britain, he defended his dissertation (entitled "The Conquest of Rhodesia") and began to work at the new Africa department of the Institute of Oriental Studies.

Immediately after the creation of the Institute of Africa in 1959, Davison went to work there. However, since historical research gradually began to occupy a smaller and smaller place at this institute, he decided to create a new scholarly centre that would be occupied precisely with the history of the dark continent. He founded this on 1 December 1971 on the basis

of the Institute of Global History, which had spun off by that time from the Academy of Science's Institute of History. Thus, a full half century of his life would be connected with the institute where he had become a PhD student in 1953 [Балезин, 2019].

At the beginning of the 1970s, Davidson prepared the programme for the department of African history (today called the Centre for African Studies IVI RAN). One of the main directions of his work was the subject of Russia and Africa. We should note that among the departmental leaders at the Academy of Science's humanities institutes in the 1970s, he was the only one who did not belong to the party.

Davidson defended his habilitation dissertation at the beginning of 1971 and immediately released it as the book *South Africa – Forming the Forces of Protest*, 1870–1924 [Давидсон, 1972]. The work was built on unique historical sources, access to which he received after great effort and despite restrictions. Davidson even managed to become acquainted with documents in the closed Comintern archive, although he was not allowed to quote or cite this material. At the time, the history of the Comintern was a forbidden subject. Many in the USSR in the 1960s and 70s did not like to remember the existence of this organisation. The facts that the Bolsheviks had seized power in October 1917 in hope of a world revolution and that Moscow had been the centre of preparations for this for two decades did not fit with the official conception of the USSR's history. Furthermore, the majority of Comintern activists had been repressed in the 1930s.

Meanwhile, the destalinisation of the Khrushchev thaw was not deep: the explanation for the tragedy of the 1930s was boiled down to the leader's "cult of personality". After Khrushchev's removal in 1964, criticism of the Stalin epoch began to wither away, replaced in the 1970s by "creeping restalinisation".

In these conditions, Davidson had to gather materials on the Comintern and Africa literally piece by piece. He was fortunate: he was personally acquainted with some of the Comintern veterans who had managed to survive the camps and come to work at the Institute of Oriental Studies and the Institute of Africa after 1956. Among these individuals, A. Ia. Zusmanovich (1902–1965) occupies a special place: in the 1930s, he had been a political assistant at the Comintern's oriental secretariat and the head of the African chair at the Scientific Research Association on National and Colonial Issues at the Communist University of the Toilers of the East.

However, talking with Zusmanovich, as with other former members of the Comintern, was not easy. Despite having gone through the camp system, these people remained Old Bolsheviks. They did not maintain an iota of doubt about the correctness of the party's policy: they also resolutely fought against free-thinking young people like Davidson, the future "people of the sixties." "Zusmanovich and those who had left the gulag approved of the decisions of party organs – from the Central Committee to the party committee of the Institute of Oriental Studies", Davidson recalls: "Those who objected, he called 'enemies of our party'. At the same time, in a domestic setting, after all of his philippics, I allowed myself to ask:

Which party are you [talking] about, Aleksandr Zakharovich? Not the one that sentenced you to death?' He momentarily caught himself and began to scold the party – the careerists had snuck in and it was generally full of scoundrels. And then he forgot. This repeated itself over and over [Давидсон, 2019, c. 91-92].

One of the other Comintern members from the 1930s that Davidson knew well was I. I. Potekhin (1903–1964). The first director of the Academy of Science's Institute of Africa, this man is often considered a typical Soviet official, making a successful career for himself. But Davidson knew that, as with Zusmanovich, Potekhin had been removed from the Communist University of the Toilers of the East in 1936 and had been left unemployed for long time. Once, after the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party, Potekhin made a comment to one of his peers in Davidson's presence: "What are we worth if we did not sit in prison in 1937?" [Давидсон, 2019, с. 96]. Obviously even such convinced communists like Potekhin and Zusmanovich sometimes had doubts about the rectitude of the line of behaviour they had chosen, thinking that, perhaps, it was necessary to live life differently.

For many years, Davidson sought opportunities to speak with Africanists who had participated in the Comintern in the 1920s and 30s. This was very difficult: the majority of those who had survived avoided conversations about the Comintern. Nonetheless, he continued to work on this subject, using any chance to gather materials.

Work on reconstructing the history of the Comintern's activities in Africa obviously realised for Davidson in many ways his long-time passion in the subject of Russia and Africa, which had begun as early as the 1940s. However, this never went anywhere: later, when Davidson wrote his PhD and habilitation theses, it became only a kind of scholarly hobby.

I did not put this subject into any official plans or accounts during my student years, nor did I report on it before any bosses. As was said then, the historian is "a fighter on the ideological front." But here there were no struggles, no exposure of "ideological opponents", of enemies internal and external. So for me this subject was not for official accounts, not for reporting to someone. It was simply for the soul [Давидсон, 2017, с. 11].

The fruits of many years of gathering travel accounts, maps, and geographical essays were two magnificent books released in the 1970s on the history of connections between Russia and Africa in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries: *The Face of a Distant Country* [Давидсон, Макрушин, 1975] and *The Call of Distant Seas* [Давидсон, Макрушин, 1979]. Davidson's co-author was his uncle V. A. Makrushin (1902–1987), an editor by profession. These books made a colossal contribution to popularising the history of Africa in Russia. Even the style of these essays was unusual: not dry or bureaucratic, but lively, provoking the interest of readers in

the distant dark continent. Noting that Russians had begun to formulate their image of Africa 200–300 years ago, Davidson argued that that the situation had not much changed by the end of the twentieth century. For the majority of Soviet people, the dark continent was before all a "distant country". To stimulate interest among a mass readership and to show how the spirit of adventure and state interests had driven past Russians to search for routes to Africa's distant shores – these were the aims that Davidson and Makrushin placed before themselves. And these were achieved: the books were of no small interest to readers.

A new impulse to Davidson's work came after radical transformations began in Russia. The removal of ideological prohibitions, the opportunity to choose themes and narratives for research more freely than before – these gave new possibilities to people like Davidson, who had earlier been internally free.

In 1992, Davidson published a book on the African voyages of Nikolai S. Gumilev, a work unthinkable before perestroika [Давидсон, 1992]². In the USSR, memory about the Silver Age had been entirely destroyed. But Davidson had been interested in this part of Russian culture since childhood. He reminisces that his mother, Tamara Aleksandrovna, and her friends, representatives of the old Petersburg intelligentsia, often spoke about their favourite writers and poets, so little by little he absorbed their love for the Silver Age. Of all the authors discussed by his mother and her friends, Davidson was closest to the verses of Gumilev and stories about his fate. Tamara Aleksandrovna had collections of Gumilev's poetry in her library. Davidson's interest in Gumilev became his window onto the world of the Silver Age. At the beginning of the 1960s, the young historian interviewed Anna Akhmatova and then Irina Odoevtseva and Lev Gumilev, questioning those who still remembered the atmosphere of the Silver Age.

The very title of Davidson's new book, *The Muse of Nikolai Gumilev's Wanderings*, was unusual, drawing attention. This book could only have been written by a person like Davidson: a professional Africanist who knew very well the history of the places where Gumilev's itinerary took him, but also a Petersburger raised in the atmosphere of the northern capital, where the people and spirit of the Silver Age were still maintained. In 2001, Davidson published a new book about Gumilev, the main themes of which were the poet's personality and the interest among Russian literary circles in eastern and African exotica at the beginning of the twentieth century [Давидсон, 2001].

Only in the post-Soviet period was Davidson able to publish the results of his long work on the history of the Comintern in Africa [Коминтерн и Африка; Davidson et al.]. At the centre of his attention was the tragedy of those who had believed in the ideal of world revolution but had then become victims of this faith. Davidson writes about his work:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> From the numerous reviews of this work, Davidson especially highlighted that written by one of the authors of this article [Балезин, 1993].

When I leafed through the pages of archival documents, it seemed to me that they oozed with the blood of these people. And above the archival folders invisibly swarmed their groans, agonies, and hopes, deceit and self-deceits, the certainty of some and the repentance of others for misled lives. This was my feeling and I wanted to share it. If only a little [Давидсон, 2019, c. 119].

These works were based on a large complex of documents from various archives. In the 1990s and 2000s, at Davidson's initiative, an academic team he led prepared a range of large document publications, in particular the two-volume *Russia and Africa. Documents and Materials* [Россия и Африка]. These presented rare documents on the history of Russo-African connections from the Petrine era to the 1960s. Continuing work on this direction was a book by Davidson, S. V. Mazov, and G. V. Тѕуркіп [Давидсон, Мазов, Цыпкин], written to a considerable extent using archival documents.

The interrelations between the USSR and the countries of Africa had had a constant presence on the pages of the Soviet press between the 1950s and 1980s, with numerous propaganda essays dedicated to this subject. Davidson and his associates made a large contribution to deideologising and demythologising these stories from the history of Soviet foreign policy. This was possible thanks to the fact that Davidson and his pupils began to analyse various aspects of this subject on the basis of a large complex of archival sources. Documents taken from the fonds of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and other party/state structures revealed before Russian readers an authentic image of Russo-African connections for the first time, showing the efforts and losses with which the Soviet Union had "paved" its "path" to Africa. The sum total of their labours on this matter was the voluminous collective work *Africa in the Destiny of Russia. Russia in the Destiny of Africa* [Африка в судьбе России].

This tome begins with an analysis of the image of Africa in Russia at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries. The key event of this period was the Boer War of 1899–1902, which, as in many other countries, gave birth in the Russian Empire to a burst of interest in Africa. Dozens of volunteers from all over the world travelled to southern Africa in order to help the Boers fight for their independence. Imbued with the romance of distant travel and freedom fighting, this narrative could not fail to attract a person like Davidson. With his pupil I. I. Filatova, who worked at universities in South Africa, he prepared a series of book on this subject. They were published both in Russia and in South Africa [Davidson, Filatova; Давидсон, Филатова, 2010; Филатова, Давидсон, 2012]. In 2013, Filatova and Davidson published an English book in South Africa, *The Hidden Thread: Russia and South Africa in the Soviet Era* [Filatova, Davidson]: in 2014, the work received a prize from the South African publishing conglomerate Media 24 as the best book of the year.

Davidson was never just an "armchair academic." He always paid great attention to popularising the history of Africa, for many years reading lectures at Moscow State University. In 2004, he began to teach at the Higher

School of Economics. Among his courses are "The Silver Age of Russian Literature" and "The Culture of the Soviet Epoch". These are electives, but students nonetheless flock to them each year.

Davidson's example shows that historians do not have to follow political circumstances for their work to be truly relevant. Davidson belongs to those representatives of the Soviet intelligentsia who consciously fled from topics considered "relevant" in order to remain themselves and stand honourably before their consciences and readers. It is thus a paradox that these people managed to create works that provoked genuine social interest, touching strings in the hearts of readers. Working on Africa, Davidson founds answers to many questions in Russia's past and eliminated "white spots" in the history of Russian culture. Searching for Africa, he found the authentic face of Russia, liberated from ideology. Apollon Davidson continues his scholarly search to this very day.

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